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S H A W M U T :

OR

THE SETTLEMENT OF BOSTON

BY

THE PURITAN PILGRIMS.

Like Israel's host to exile driven,
Across the flood the Pilgrims fled ;
Their hands bore up the ark of Heaven,
And Heaven their trusting footsteps led,
Till on these savage shores they trod,
And won the wilderness for God.—PIERPONT.

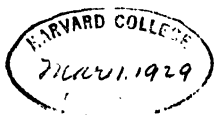
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Prof. Ephraim Emerton

P R E F A C E.

THE following pages are designed particularly for the young, in the belief, that they ought to be constantly impressed with the origin of our nation. No city, especially, ever had a more sacred foundation than our favorite Capital. The ground on which we dwell is holy ground, consecrated to Christ by our pious ancestors, who came thither that they might more fully enjoy for themselves, and transmit to posterity, the religion of the Bible. The settlement of Shawmut is a type of the colonization of nearly all the Atlantic States, and especially of New England, which originated from similar causes, and was conducted in a similar manner. It is remarkable, also, that the elements of our present unrivalled civilization were, in some form, revealed in the very beginning of the settlement; some of these elements were, indeed, in conflict with ancient prejudices and the errors of the age; but Providence so ordered, that in process of time they became developed, and now

give substance and shape to society. These elements are inherent in the Gospel, and will ever manifest themselves where the Gospel is freely examined and proclaimed.

In preparing this work, the author has consulted the best authorities, recent and remote, such as Winthrop's Journal, Dudley's letter, Mather's *Magnalia*, Bancroft's History of the U. States, Snow's History of Boston, and others mentioned in the body of the work. He has aimed at giving the book an unquestionable historical value, and is not conscious of communicating to it the slightest tinge of sectarian prejudice. Where the thread of the narrative would allow it, he has preferred to quote the very words of such authors as were eye-witnesses and actors in the scenes which they describe.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
CHAPTER I.—Causes of the Emigration to America,	9
CHAPTER II.—The first Visit of Europeans to the Regions about Shawmut. Description of the Country,	17
CHAPTER III.—The first Settler of Shawmut, .	27
CHAPTER IV.—Winthrop Colony—their Settle- ment at Shawmut,	31
CHAPTER V.—The Father of Boston. Lady Arabella. Devastating Sickness, . . .	51
CHAPTER VI.—Organization of the First Church. Religious Customs. Portraits of Rev. Mr. Cotton and Rev. Mr. Wilson, . . .	55
CHAPTER VII.—The Civil Polity. Roger Wil- liams. Portraits of the Governor and Deputy Governor,	79
CHAPTER VIII.—Free Schools. Harvard Uni- versity,	93
CHAPTER IX.—The Aborigines. Missionary labors among them. The Apostle of the Indians,	97
CHAPTER X.—Picture of the Settlement at Shawmut. View from Beacon Hill, . .	115
CHAPTER XI.—Conclusion,	125
APPENDIX.—First Town Records,	133

SHAWMUT.

CHAPTER I.

CAUSES OF THE EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.

WHEN England had finally freed her neck from the yoke of Popery, in the reign of Elizabeth, there were three religious parties in the land,—the papists, the friends of the church of England, and the dissenters, or those who wished a greater simplicity in the ceremonies and usages of religion. The latter party were called Puritans, and from them descended our ancestors. Elizabeth took middle ground between popery and puritanism, and determined to make all her subjects conform to her views upon peril of severe penalties. A court was established similar to the Papal inquisition,

called the court of high commission, with power to search out the crime of non-conformity, and punish at discretion with fines and imprisonments. At this tyrannical tribunal, men were compelled to answer, on oath, all inquiries, whether against themselves or others. In her general purpose, Elizabeth was followed by her successor, James I., whose proscriptive measures were not executed, indeed, by the sword and faggot, as in her reign, but by the forfeiture of property, liberty and peace.

A petition for redress of grievances, signed by a million of names, was presented to him on his way to London to take the throne, which induced him to call a conference at Hampden court. Here he exhibited his real character and purposes. "The conference," says Bancroft, "was distinguished on the part of the king by a strenuous vindication of the church of England. Refusing to discuss the question of the power of the church, in things indifferent, he substi-

tuted authority for argument, and where he could not produce conviction, demanded obedience. 'I will have none of this liberty of conscience as to ceremonies. I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey.'

"The Puritans desired permission occasionally to assemble, and at their meetings to have the liberty of free discussions; but the king, prompt to discern that concession in religion would be followed by greater political liberty, interrupted the petition, 'You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the Devil. When Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. When Will shall stand up and say, it must be thus, then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry but we will have it thus; and therefore, here I must reiterate my former

speech and say, *Le roi s'avisera*; the king alone shall decide.' Turning to the Bishops he avowed his belief that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne. Of the Puritans he said, 'I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else worse, only hang them, that's all.' " This closed the day's debate. Is it any wonder after this that proclamation was issued against the Puritans, and that in a single year, A. D. 1604, three hundred faithful ministers were silenced, imprisoned, or banished from the land.

All this time the great body of the Puritans remained persecuted and oppressed members of the church of England, and only contended for reform, not for separation. But before the death of Elizabeth, there was in the north of England a congregation of separatists, who determined, "whatever it might cost them, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves by covenant into a church state." This was the church

of Robinson, which, after various fortunes, is now perpetuated in the town of Plymouth, the first church in New England, and the pioneer of American liberty. Unable to endure the persecution which distressed them in their native land, they resolved to exile themselves to Holland. For the first effort to escape they were arrested and some of them thrown into prison ; but they renewed the attempt the following spring. In the darkness of the night they secretly assembled on the desolate coasts of Lincolnshire, and in a howling tempest embarked in their boats for the ship that was waiting to bear them from their native land. The men ventured first to encounter the perils of the surf, and before they could return to take the women and children, the tramp of horsemen in pursuit was heard, and the poor weeping and terrified wives and daughters were apprehended. Deeply afflicted, but without power to change their lot, the men set sail and left their families

in the custody of the magistrates, probably not without hope, that there would be justice enough in England, not to punish women and children for wishing to accompany their husbands and fathers in their exile. This was the result, for the civil authorities, not knowing how to bring a charge against them, and having no place to furnish them for a prison or a home, found them an awkward incumbrance on their hands, and were quite willing to let them go and re-join their friends.

The emigrants landed at Amsterdam, but afterwards removed to Leyden, where they remained eleven years, before they determined to embark for America. In 1620, the Mayflower was on her way with the first company of pilgrims, and they were landed at Plymouth on the 22d of December.

Their destination was the mouth of the Hudson river, where New York is now, but through the ignorance or knavish design of the Captain,

they were turned out of their course, and brought in the dead of winter to the most barren and inhospitable part of Massachusetts. Had they wandered a little further north, they would have come to Boston harbor, and found more comfortable quarters. This they found out when it was too late to remove the colony. Providence had prepared another goodly vine to be planted there.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST VISITS OF EUROPEANS TO THE REGIONS
ABOUT SHAWMUT. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY.

Six years before the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, the whole eastern coast of New England had been explored by the celebrated Capt. John Smith, in an open boat, with eight men. His interesting account of it induced the king, Charles I., to honor the country with the name of New England. Of the region about Boston he speaks with enthusiasm, though restrained from making so thorough an examination of it as he otherwise would, by learning that the French had been there six weeks before and had secured the trade of the Indians. "The country of the Massachusetts," says Smith, "is the paradise of all these parts; for here are many isles all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, savage gardens, and good

harbors; the coast is, for the most part, high, clayey, sandy cliffs. The sea coast as you pass, shows you all along large corn-fields and great troops of well proportioned people; but the French having remained near six weeks, left nothing for us to take occasion to examine the statements of the inhabitants, whether there be near three thousand people, and that the river doth pierce many days' journey the entrails of the country. We found the people in these parts very kind, but in their fury no less valiant. For upon a quarrel we had with one of them, he only with three others crossed the harbor of Quonahasset to certain rocks whereby we must pass; and there let fly their arrows for our shot, till we were out of danger." This is the first account we have of any civilized man touching at these shores.

An exploring party from Plymouth colony was sent out the next year after their landing, A. D. 1621; for the purpose of viewing the country, and to form acquaintance and make

treaties with the natives. One of their party has given the following particulars respecting the expedition. "It seemed good to the company in general, that though the Massachusetts had often threatened us, as we were informed, yet we should go among them, partly to see the country, partly to make peace with them, and partly to procure their truck. For these ends the government chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent Tisquantum (a native chief) and two other savages to bring us to speech with the people, and interest for us. On the 18th of September, about midnight, the tide then serving us, we supposing it to be nearer than it is, thought to be there before the next morning betimes; but it proved well near twenty leagues from New Plymouth. We came into the bottom of the bay, but being late, we anchored and lay in our shallop, not having seen any of the people. The next morning we found many lobsters that had been gathered by the savages, which we made ready under a cliff,

(supposed to be Copp's Hill.) The captain sent two sentinels behind the cliff to the landward to secure the shallop, and taking a guide with him and four of our company, went to seek the inhabitants, when they met a woman coming for the lobsters. They told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were; Tisquantum went to seek them; the rest returned, having direction which way to bring the shallop to them.

“The sachem or governor of this place is called Obbatinewat, and though he live in the bottom of the Massachusetts bay, yet he is under Massasoyt. He used us very kindly; he told us he durst not remain in any settled place for fear of the Tarentines. Also the squaw sachem, or Massachusetts queen, was an enemy to him. We told him of divers sachems that had acknowledged themselves to be king James' men, and if he would submit himself, we would be safeguard from his enemies; which he did, and went along with us to bring us to the squaw sachem.

"Again we crossed the bay, which is very large, and hath at least fifty islands in it, but the certain number is not known to the inhabitants. Night it was before we came to that side of this bay where this people were. That night also we rid at anchor aboard the shallop. On the morrow we went ashore all but two men, and marched in arms up the country. Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence Nanepashemet their king in his life-time had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with poles and planks, some six foot from the ground, and the house upon that, being situated upon the top of a hill.

"Not far from hence, in a bottom, we came to a fort built by their deceased king, the manner thus; there were poles some thirty or forty foot long, stuck in the ground as thick as they could be set one by another, and with this they

enclosed a ring some forty and fifty foot over. A trench, breast high, was digged on each side ; one way there was to go into it with a bridge. In the midst of this palisade stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buried.

“ About a mile from hence we came to such another, but seated on the top of an hill ; here Nanepashemet was killed ; none dwelling in it since his death. At this place we staid, and sent two savages to the inhabitants, and to inform them of our ends in coming, that they might not be fearful of us. Within a mile of this place we found the women of the place together, with their corn in heaps, whither we supposed them to be fled for fear of us, and the more, because in divers places they had newly pulled down their houses, and for haste in one place had left some of their corn, covered with a mat, and nobody with it.

“ With much fear they entertained us at first, but seeing our gentle carriage towards them, they took heart, and entertained us in the best

manner they could, boiling cod and such other things as they had for us. At length, with much sending for, came one of their men, shaking and trembling with fear. But when he saw that we intended them no hurt, but came to truck, he promised us with his skins also. Of him we inquired for their queen, but it seemed she was far from thence, at least we could not see her. Here Tisquantum would have us rifled the savage women, and taken their skins, and all such things as might be serviceable for us ; for (said he) they are a bad people, and have oft threatened you ; but our answer was, were they never so bad, we would not wrong them, or give them any just occasion against us ; for their words we little weighed them ; but if they once attempted any thing against us, then we would deal far worse than he desired. Having well spent the day, we returned to the shallop, almost all the women accompanying us to the shore. We promised

them to come again to them, and they to us, to keep their skins.

“ Within this bay, the savages say, there are two rivers; the one whereof we saw, having a fair entrance, but we had no time to discover it. Better harbors for shipping cannot be than here are. At the entrance of the bay are many rocks, and in all likelihood good fishing ground. Many, yea, most of the islands have been inhabited, some being cleared from end to end, but the people are all dead or removed. Our victual growing scarce, the wind coming fair, and having a light moon, we set out at evening, and through the goodness of God, came safely home before noon the day following, with a considerable quantity of beaver and a good report of the place, wishing we had been seated there.”

As seen from Charlestown, Boston at this time had the appearance of a tongue of land running into the harbor, swelling into three high hills. One at the north, now called Copp's

hill; one at the east, now Fort hill; another forming the whole western extremity of the place, now called Beacon hill. On the largest hill were three lofty eminences, and on the easternmost of these were three little rising hills in a continuous range. These circumstances put together gave the first European name to the place, which was Tri-mountain. The Indian name was Shawmut, which means, as has been supposed, living fountains, and was given on account of the springs of water which abounded here, to which the Indians resorted in their canoes when there was a season of drought. One of these perpetual springs is seen on the Common, called Frog Pond. After the removal of the colony, by order of the court, September 7, 1630, the place was called Boston, in honor of their second minister, Rev. John Cotton, who was then expected from Boston in England.

At another point of view, Boston presented the appearance of two peninsulas, north and

south, connected by a very narrow neck of land, somewhere near Blackstone street; and when the tide was high, it looked like two islands. The long, narrow isthmus by which the whole was connected to the main land, was at the south end, now called the Neck. The peninsula was almost destitute of trees, like the most of the islands. The soil was good, and easily cultivated, but afforded little meadow for pastures. Such was Boston before it became the habitation of civilized man.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST SETTLER OF SHAWMUT.

THE first settler of Shawmut was Mr. William Blackstone. He probably came over with the company under Endicott, who settled at Salem, as we shall see in the course of the narrative. Mr. Blackstone built him a cottage at a point somewhere near Leverett street, not very far from Cragie's bridge, and became sole proprietor of the whole peninsula, which was afterwards bought of him. Here he lived nine or ten years, and saw the foundation of society laid. He was a very eccentric character. He was an ordained minister of the English church, but holding puritan sentiments, he preferred to enjoy them unmolested in the wilderness. He loved his liberty so well, that he would not connect himself with the church established here. He said, "I came from England because I did

not like the Lord-Bishops; and I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren." He retained nothing while here of his ministerial character but his canonical coat. He devoted himself to the cultivation of the six acres of land which he retained in his possession, and planted there, it is said, the first orchard of apple-trees in New England. It is supposed that he left Boston, because he was annoyed by the strict sectarian laws that were established by the colony, and banished himself again to the wilderness, in a place now called Cumberland, on the banks of Pawtucket river. Here he built his house in the midst of a park, planted an orchard near it, and divided his time between study and labor. He called his rural retreat Study hill, and made it his permanent residence until the day of his death, which happened May 26, 1675, two years after he had buried his wife. He was a man of a kind and benevolent heart; and when he went to Providence to preach, which he did occa-

sionally, notwithstanding his disagreement in opinion with Roger Williams, he would carry with him some of his beautiful apples as a present to the children, who never had seen such fruit before. Indeed, the kind called yellow sweetings, were first produced from his orchard ; and the older inhabitants, who had seen apples in England, had not before seen that sort. His eccentricity is seen in the fact, that he used, in his old age, to ride into Providence on a bull, which, for want of a horse, he had trained for that purpose. "The death of this venerable pilgrim," says the historian, "was at a critical period, the beginning of an Indian war. His estate was deserted, and his house burnt by the natives. His library, which contained 186 volumes, from folios to pamphlets, shared the same fate. His family is now extinct. A flat stone marks his grave on Study hill ; but we hope and trust the musing stranger will hereafter find his name on some marble tablet of historical inscriptions, erected by the munificent

hand of some Bostonian." And I will add, in the city of Boston, which, for a short time, was called for him Blackstone Neck, on the very spot where he erected the first Christian dwelling place,

Such was the first settler of Boston. Who followed him?

CHAPTER IV.

WINTHROP COLONY—THEIR SETTLEMENT AT SHAWMUT.

IN persecuting dissenters, Charles I. walked in the steps of his father. The court of high commission, stimulated by the superstitious zeal of the intolerant Archbishop Laud, continued to exercise despotic sway over the religious faith and practices of the people. Ministers, magistrates, persons in every station of life suspected of deviations from the rites and observances of religion established by law, were arrested, and compelled to bear witness against themselves. This continued until the spirit of liberty in the nation arose in a storm of opposition, and overwhelmed the king and his counsellors, the national church and the throne itself, in common ruin. Meanwhile the eyes of many who were persecuted for conscience' sake, were turned for refuge to the wilderness across the

deep, whither the pilgrims from Holland had led the way. The name of the Rev. John White, minister of Dorchester in England, will be held in grateful remembrance so long as New England remains the asylum of liberty. Discerning in the settlement at Plymouth the dawning of a brighter day for true religion on earth, he devoted himself to the enterprize of extending the colonization of these shores by Christian communities. The first movement, like almost all such beginnings, was disastrous. Mr. Roger Conant, formerly connected with the Plymouth colony, led forth a little company from Nantasket to Cape Ann, and from thence to Salem. Here his companions, disheartened by the difficulties and perils of their situation, deserted him, with the exception of three persons. To these Mr. White wrote, entreating them to hold fast until he could send out a reinforcement and supplies of provision from England. In 1628, the council of Plymouth, in England, sold to six distinguished gentlemen

of Dorchester, a tract extending three miles south of the Charles River, and three miles north of the Merrimack, and stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To these proprietors were joined, by the indefatigable exertion of Mr. White, many other persons, some of whom were men of large fortune and elevated rank, and all breathed a spirit of holy ardor to promote the kingdom of Christ in the new world. Among the new associates were Winthrop, Dudley and Johnson, names destined to be forever honored in the history of Boston. The company thus formed, immediately began the work of emigration. Mr. John Endicott, one of the six original proprietors, was first sent forth with a small colony to join the forlorn hope at Salem, under the brave and magnanimous Conant.

In the course of the summer succeeding their arrival, three brothers by the name of Sprague, accompanied by a few others, made an exploring tour to the westward. Penetrating the

woods about twelve miles from Salem, they came to a neck of land between two rivers, running into the bay, called by the Indians, **Mishawum**. Here, to their surprise, they found one English cottage, thatched and palisaded, situated near the river at the south side of the west hill. It was owned by Thomas Walford, a blacksmith, whose services and good conduct had procured him the favor and protection of the Indian sachem. They had no difficulty in getting permission to settle in this place. It was afterwards called Charlestown, in honor of the king.

The next year, 1629, a large company, consisting of three hundred and sixty souls, under the pastoral care of Rev. Francis Higginson, arrived in Salem. Of this company about one hundred removed to Charlestown.

These expeditions awakened an interest throughout the puritan population of England. Efforts had been made to obtain a charter for this company under the royal seal, which, after

some delay, was granted March 4, 1629. By this charter the company was made a body politic, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. The government was to be administered by a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, who were to be chosen annually by the members of the company. It was proposed that the charter should be transferred with the emigrants to the colony, so that the government might be administered on the spot. This was a momentous proposition, involving great political consequences, and was felt by many leading members of the corporation to be a sufficient inducement to emigrate with their families. After serious debate, it was agreed to by general consent. By this act the company in effect was to become "an independent provincial government." Was it legal? It was but an agreement to hold the legal meetings of the corporation in Massachusetts, rather than

in England; and in the sequel it was so allowed by the English courts.

This decision acted like a charm. Swarms of families now offer to emigrate. During the season, about fifteen hundred persons embarked in fourteen vessels, to form a new plantation in Massachusetts. This was the largest colony that ever left the old world for America. Mr. John Winthrop was elected governor, and Mr. Thomas Dudley deputy governor. Mr. Winthrop kept a journal of every important event from his first embarking in 1630, to the year 1644. The following will be interesting as his first entry :

“ Anno Domini 1630, March 29th, Monday.
Riding at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, in the Arabella, a ship of 350 tons, whereof Captain Peter Milburne was master, being manned with 52 seamen and 28 pieces of ordnance. The wind coming to the N. by W. the evening before; in the morning there came aboard us, Mr. Cradock, the late governor, and

the master of his two ships, Captain John Love, master of the Ambrose, and Mr. Nicholas Thurlston, master of the Jewel, and Mr. Thomas Beacher, master of the Talbot, which three ships then rode by us; the Charles, the Mayflower, the William and Frances, the Hopewell, the Whale, the Success, the Trial, being at Hampton, and not ready. When, upon conference, it was agreed, that in regard it was uncertain when the rest of the fleet would be ready, four ships should consort together; the Arabella to be admiral, the Talbot vice admiral, the Ambrose rear admiral, and the Jewel a captain; and accordingly articles of consortship were drawn between the said captain and master; whereupon Mr. Cradock took leave of us, and our captain gave him a farewell with four or five shot. About ten of the clock we weighed anchor and set sail, with the wind at the N., and came to an anchor again over against Yarmouth, and the Talbot weighed likewise, and came and anchored by us."

While waiting for favorable winds in the harbor of Yarmouth, they prepared and published an affectionate farewell to their native country.

“The humble request of his majesty’s loyal subjects, the governor and the company, late gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in the Church of England.

“Reverend Fathers and Brethren :—The general rumor of this solemn enterprise, wherein ourselves, with others, through the providence of the Almighty, are engaged, as it may spare us the labor of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more encouragement to strengthen ourselves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lord’s faithful servants; for which end we are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom God hath placed nearest his throne of mercy, which, as it affords you the more opportunity, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straits : we beseech

you, therefore, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement, through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather, among us—for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world—yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principles and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts; we leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but, blessing God for the

parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall over betide her; and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

“ Be pleased, therefore, fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand, which, if it prosper, you shall be the more glorious; howsoever, your judgment is with the Lord, and your reward with your God. It is a usual and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your congregations, the necessities and straits of your private neighbors: do the like for a church springing out of your own bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will be a most prosperous gale in our sails, and provide such a passage and welcome for us from the God of the whole earth,

as both we shall find it, and yourselves, with the rest of our friends who shall hear of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returns of thanksgivings as the specialities of His providence and goodness may justly challenge at our hands. You are not ignorant that the Spirit of God stirred up the apostle Paul to make continual mention of the church of Philippi, (which was a colony from Rome.) Let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, (who are a weak colony from yourselves,) making continual request for us to God in all your prayers.

“What we entreat of you that are the ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of grace.

“If any there be who, through want of clear intelligence of our course, or tenderness of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well

of us as we could desire, we would entreat such not to despise us; nor to desert us in their prayers and affections; but to consider rather that they are so much the more bound to express the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembering always that both nature and grace doth ever bind us to relieve and rescue, with our utmost and speediest power, such as are dear to us, when we conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

“What goodness you shall extend to us on this or any other Christian kindness, we your brethren in Christ Jesus, shall labor to repay in what duty we are or shall be able to perform, promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give Him no rest on your behalf, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope,

unprofitably befall us. And so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest."

A few days after leaving Yarmouth, while the fleet was passing down the channel, a scene took place of a somewhat tragic interest, which enlivened the commencement of a voyage not much characterized by marvellous incidents. It gives us a peep at the belligerent state of the world at this time. It is thus described in the journal:

"Friday, April 9th.—In the night we discovered, from the top, 8 sail astern of us, whom Captain Love told us he had seen at Dunninast in the evening. We supposing they might be Dunkirkers, our Captain caused the gun room and gun deck to be cleared, all the hammocks were taken down, our ordnance loaded, and our powder chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered among the seamen, and 25 of them quartered for musketeers, and every man written down for their quarter.

“The wind continued N., with fair weather, and afternoon it calmed, and we still saw those eight ships to stand towards us; having more wind than we, they came up again, so that our Captain and masters of the consorts were more occasioned to think they might be Dunkirkers, for we were told at Yarmouth, that there were ten sail of them waiting for us; whereupon we all prepared to fight with them, and took down some cabins which were in the way of our ordnance, and out of every ship was thrown such matter as were subject to take fire, and we hove our long boat, and put up our waste cloths, and drew forth our men, and armed them with muskets and other weapons, and instruments for fireworks; and for an experiment, our Captain shot a ball of wild fire fastened to an arrow, out of a cross-bow, which burnt in the water a good time. The lady Arabella and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the

upper deck. It was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if they had proved as might well be expected, for there had been eight against four, and the least of the enemy's ships were reputed to carry 30 brass pieces, but our trust was in the Lord of Hosts; and the courage of our Captain, and his care and diligence, did much encourage us. It was now about one of the clock, and the fleet seemed to be within a league of us; therefore the Captain, because he would show he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake us, tacked about and stood to meet them; and when we came near, we perceived them to be our friends; the little Neptune, a ship of some twenty pieces of ordnance, and her two consorts, bound for the Streights; a ship of Hampshire, and a Frenchman and three other English ships bound for Canada and Newfoundland.

So when we drew near, every ship as they met saluted each other, and the Mayflower and ours discharged their small shot; and so (God be praised) our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment, our danger being then over."

Detained on the coast by a variety of causes, it was not till the 11th of April that the little fleet was fairly out of sight of land. But now they feel themselves separated forever from their homes and many friends, and making their way over the mighty waters to a strange land. But there were noble hearts on board those ships, that knew well the greatness and holiness of the objects which had drawn them into the enterprise. They bore with them a charter authorizing them to establish a new commonwealth in the western world, and it was their purpose to make it a Christian commonwealth. This was the idea that made them look calmly upon all the sacrifices they made in leaving home, and encounter cheerfully all the perils

and hardships of a new settlement in the wilderness. They felt that God was with them in their wanderings, and his arm would guide them safely on.

On Tuesday, the 8th of June, they made sight of land, which proved to be Mount Desert. "We had now," says the journal, "fine sunshine weather, and so pleasant a scene here as did much refresh us, and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden. There came a wild pigeon into our ship, and another small land bird."

On the 12th the Arabella cast anchor under Baker's Island, a short distance from the harbor of Salem, and Mr. Endicott came on board to welcome them. The governor, the assistants, and several gentlemen and ladies of the company, hastened with joy to set their feet upon the long desired land of their adoption.

It was their original design to establish the whole colony in one place, but, for a variety of causes, when they arrived, they dispersed in

different directions from Salem to Dorchester. The governor, in a few days after his arrival at Salem, went on an exploring tour to Charlestown, and up Mystic River about six miles. He selected Charlestown for his permanent residence. Here he and the other officers were accommodated with tenements in a building called the Great House, situated on the site of the present Market Square. The remainder of his company resided in booths and cloth tents in the neighborhood.

In a short time they began to suffer severely from sickness, and a large number died. This was attributed, in part, to a scarcity of water, for, strange to relate, but one spring of good water could be found. This was near the present site of the state prison, and was covered by the tide at high water.

Their rude habitations, also, were but a poor shelter from moisture and the vicissitudes of a changeable climate. A knowledge of their distress awakened the sympathy of Mr. Blackstone,

and he sent word to the governor that there were abundant springs of water at Shawmut, and invited him to remove thither. His generous invitation was first accepted by Mr. Johnson, a wealthy and leading man, who, with several others, removed to the peninsula in August, 1630. This led the way for others, and very soon Boston became the largest settlement in the bay. The first general court of the colony was holden here the 19th of October, 1630, at which time the governor and nearly all the people had removed from Charlestown, leaving but seventeen male inhabitants.

CHAPTER V.

THE FATHER OF BOSTON. LADY ARABELLA. DEVASTATING SICKNESS.

MR. JOHNSON has been called the father of Boston, because he led the way of the settlement of the governor and the chief men of the company in this place. His lot was the spot between Court and School streets, and his house occupied the site of the court house. He now lies buried in the Chapel burying-ground, in Tremont street, which formed a part of his lot, and was after his decease made a public burying-ground. He lived only a few months after his arrival. The general sickness which afflicted the plantation while at Charlestown, continued after the removal to Shawmut, and carried two hundred persons to the grave. It was a most devastating sickness, and spread destruction into almost every family. Among

its earliest victims was the Lady Arabella, the lovely and devoted wife of Mr. Johnson. She belonged to a noble family in England, and was brought up amidst the delicacies and luxuries of refined society, but her love for her husband, made her choose to brave the dangers of a sea voyage, and the hardships of a pioneer settlement in the wilderness. She only lived long enough to smile upon the commencement of the enterprise, and passed away to a better world. She was buried at Salem, where she died. Her loss preyed upon the health of her husband, and prepared him to sink under the first attack of disease. He was a husband worthy of such a wife, a wise, enterprising and holy man, "endued," says an early historian, "with many precious gifts, and chief pillar to support this new erected building, so that at his departure there were many weeping eyes, and some fainting hearts, fearing the failure of the undertaking."

Alarmed by the dangers which thickened

around them, about a hundred persons, including some of the officers of the government, and leading men on whom the colony leaned with confidence as the main pillars of their enterprise, returned in haste to England. Thus deserted by their companions, and oppressed by untried difficulties and hardships, the devoted remnant did not despair. Looking up to the God of Heaven in solemn prayer, their courage increased with the emergency, and in hope they waited for better days. Nor did they wait in vain. Ships arrive from time to time, bearing to them various supplies, fresh emigrants fill the vacancies made by death, the rude and comely edifices multiply on every side, sickness disappears, to return no more in like manner to desolate their homes, and the dark clouds that overhung their prospect disperse forever.

The generous manner in which the settlers, in the time of their distress, administered to each other's wants, deserves to be commemorated. The poor kindly lent their services to

the rich in their sickness, and the rich shared their scanty store of bread with the poor. It is related that Mr. Winthrop was in the act of dividing his last handful of meal with a poor neighbor, when the signal was given that a ship from England, laden with provision, had appeared in the offing.

CHAPTER VI.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST CHURCH. RELIGIOUS
CUSTOMS. PORTRAITS OF REV. MR. COTTON, AND
REV. MR. WILSON.**

THE first church was organized soon after the colonists landed at Charlestown. In the midst of their afflictions, the governor proposed to hold a day of fasting and prayer, which was observed on Tuesday the 30th of July, 1631. The services were conducted in the open air, under the canopy of heaven. After worship it was proposed that "such persons as knew each other," should enter into a church covenant. Accordingly Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and Rev. Mr. Wilson, signed the following covenant :

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance,

“ We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, one head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, as near as God shall give us grace.”

A month afterwards, on Friday, another fast was held, at which time the congregation chose Mr. Wilson for their teacher, Mr. Increase Nowell for elder, and Dr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall for deacons. These were all installed by imposition of hands, with a solemn declaration that it was only by way of election, and not to set aside Mr. Wilson's previous ordina-

tion in England. Notwithstanding by these acts the church did in effect separate herself from the English establishment, and adopted the Congregational order, of which an example had been set by the church at Plymouth. This was a revolution into which they naturally fell ; for having left the shores where they had suffered so much from prelacy, they could not but desire to be entirely free from its dominion. It was not, however, deemed necessary nor prudent to make any parade about secession. Roger Williams, while pastor at Salem, refused to commune with the church in Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of repentance for ever having connection with the Church of England.

Two years afterwards, a contribution of 120 pounds was made to build a church and parsonage on opposite sides of State street. At this time there were one hundred and thirty male members, and twenty female members, in full communion. There was a distinction of

offices then that does not now exist. Mr. Wilson, who had been installed as a teacher, was now chosen pastor. They endeavored to make the celebrated Mr. Eliot (afterwards missionary to the Indians) their teacher, but he preferred to settle in Roxbury. Mr. Thomas Oliver was chosen ruling elder. He and Mr. Wilson were both ordained in form; the two deacons first imposing hands upon the elder, and then the elder and two deacons upon the pastor. The next year the Rev. John Cotton, a man of distinguished eloquence and piety, arrived from Boston in England, and was ordained teacher. The ceremony of calling upon the people to signify their election of the candidate, and on him to acknowledge his acceptance, and the presentation of the right hand of fellowship by the neighboring ministers, was introduced on this occasion. The doctrines of the church were Calvinistic. It was the custom after a sermon for any one who pleased to bear witness to the truth of what was preached; and once a

week the members of a church held a meeting at which they repeated the sermons they heard on the Lord's day, and discussed the doctrines. Thursday there was a public lecture, after which a town meeting was held for the transaction of business. The ministers had great influence in the government, and often took occasion to discuss political topics at the Thursday lectures. One day before the election of officers, Mr. Cotton preached the election sermon, and advanced the doctrine that the people had no more right to turn a magistrate out of office, than the magistrate to turn a man out of his freehold, without a public trial. His sermon, however, did not have the effect he probably intended; for the freemen proceeding forthwith to vote for a governor and deputy, Mr. Winthrop was left out, and Mr. Dudley chosen in his place, and Mr. Roger Ludlow elected deputy.

The support of the clergy and the maintenance of religion was at the public expense,

and was assessed upon all the pew-holders, and levied like all other taxes. At the first meeting of the court of assistants, which was held on board the *Arabella*, anchored at Charlestown, on Monday the 23d of August, a few days before the installation of Mr. Wilson, as before described, the first question settled was, how shall the ministers be maintained? It was ordered that houses should be built for their accommodation at the public charge, and that Mr. Wilson should have twenty pounds per annum until his wife arrived from England.

Thus when the church and the state were composed of the same persons, did the state assume the burden of supporting the church; and this practice was not wholly abolished until a recent date. But the civil government assumed no authority to control the faith of the church, or to interfere with its internal regulations. They had seen the evil of this in the mother country. Yet it was decreed that no person should be a freeman of the colony who

was not a member of the church. And when the church adjudged a member heretical or disorderly, the arm of the civil law was employed to enforce the judgment. A year after the settlement commenced, Governor Winthrop records an incident which illustrates the policy of that day.

“The congregation at Watertown, whereof Mr. G. Phillips was pastor, had chosen Richard Brown for their elder, before named, who, persisting in his opinion of the truth of the Romish church, and maintaining other errors withal, and being a man of a very violent spirit, the court wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren, to advise them to take into consideration whether Mr. Brown were fit to be continued their elder or not; to which, after some weeks, they returned answer to this effect;—that if we would take the pains to prove such things as were objected against him, they would undertake to redress them.

“The congregation being much divided

about the elder, both parties repaired to the governor for assistance, &c., whereupon he went to Watertown with the deputy governor and Mr. Nowell, and the congregation being assembled, the governor told them, that being come to settle peace, &c., they might proceed in three distinct respects:—1. As the magistrates, their assistance being desired. 2. As members of a neighboring congregation. 3. Upon the answer which we received of our letter, which did no way satisfy us. But the pastor, Mr. Phillips, desired us to set with them as members of a neighboring congregation only, whereto the governor, &c., consented. Then the one side, which had first complained, were noticed to exhibit their grievances; which they did, to this effect:—That they could communicate with their elder, being guilty of errors, both in judgment and conversation. After much debate of these things, at length they were reconciled, and agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so to have a solemn

writing, each party promising to reform what has been amiss, &c.; and the pastor gave thanks to God, and the assembly broke up."

Rev. John Cotton was an extraordinary man. He was born in England, December 4, 1585, and received his education in the University of Cambridge, where he was honored by being elected fellow of Emanuel College. He afterwards became head lecturer, dean and catechist in the same college. In his twenty-eighth year he was elected pastor of the church at Boston, Lincolnshire, England; and he entered upon his duties with a heart burning with zeal for the salvation of souls. Being called in his turn to deliver a sermon at St. Mary's, Cambridge, he prepared himself to preach a plain, practical sermon, designed rather to awaken the conscience, than to gratify the taste. His distinction as a scholar, had excited the expectation of a more than ordinary literary feast in his discourse. But the officers and members of the University listened to his earnest and point-

ed address without any of that "humming" by which they usually expressed their applause, but with a disappointment which they took no pains to conceal. He had, however, the satisfaction to learn afterwards, that the distinguished Dr. Preston, who came to hear a learned harangue, rather than a gospel sermon, was awakened by the solemn truths he heard, and induced to seek a personal evidence of salvation. . On one occasion a woman, alarmed by the eternal consequences of her crimes, came forward and confessed the murder of her husband, of which she had been guilty some years before, notwithstanding her confession exposed her to the dreadful penalty of being burnt alive.

He was on some points a non-conformist, but he was protected from persecution by the affections and reverence of his people, won by his zeal, faithfulness and talents. He did not long, however, enjoy this immunity. A profligate man, who had been punished for his crimes by some magistrates belonging to his parish, gave

information against them to the officers of high Commission Court, that they did not kneel in service, nor observe certain other usages, of religion established by law. He was told it was necessary that the pastor's name should be included in the complaint; and though he had no particular ill will to Mr. Cotton, he was willing to sacrifice him to his revenge upon the magistrates. His friend the Earl Dorset interposed his influence in his behalf, but in vain; he could not prevent his being summoned before the Court, and wrote to him to fly the country, saying, that if he had been guilty of adultery or murder, he might be pardoned, but there was no forgiveness for puritanism. He took this friendly counsel, and in a disguised dress and name, he turned towards the coast, with a view to take ship for Holland. Afterwards he changed his route, and went to London, where some eminent ministers sought an interview with him, to persuade him to submit his own judgment, in matters of ceremony, to

the established ritual ; but his conscience forbade him. Here he received a letter from Mr. Winthrop, inviting him to America. He accepted the invitation as a call of Providence, and arrived at Boston, September 4, 1633. His arrival was hailed by all the people with joy, for his fame had already spread throughout the settlement. He received various invitations from the surrounding villages to settle with them, but being advised by the governor and the ministers of the colony, he concluded to abide in Boston, and was ordained to the office of teacher in the first church. As colleague to the excellent Mr. Wilson, he entered upon his official duties with characteristic ardor. The order of the church was revived and improved ; a task by no means easy in a community educated in the usages of the Church of England, and composed of incongruous elements, some being more, and some less inclined to ecclesiastical restrictions and rules. In this labor, he prepared a treatise, entitled, the *Keys of the*

Kingdom of Heaven, which was published in 1644, and was long a standard among the churches.

The private habits of the people needed correction, in some respects, and he extended his influence through the government, and by public discourse, to accomplish this object. Once he preached a sermon at Salem on the use of the veil, and so convinced the ladies that the Scripture did not require it, in countries where custom did not make it a sign of modesty, that not one of them appeared in the congregation in the afternoon with a veil, and the custom was abandoned !

His preaching was immediately instrumental of the conversion of souls, as we learn from Mr. Winthrop's journal, at the date of December 4, 1634. "It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were converted and added to that church, than to all the other churches in the

bay, (or rather, lake, for so it was principally termed, the bay being that part of the sea between the two capes, Cape Cod and Cape Ann.) Divers profane and notorious evil persons came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church."

His ardent temper betrayed him into an indiscretion in relation to the religious movements of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. For at first he seemed to encourage her and her followers in their theological notions, and received their applause as the only properly instructed divine in the country; and yet after they found themselves in trouble with the government and the church, he explained away his points of supposed agreement with them. This course gave dissatisfaction to all parties, and has cast a shade over his fair fame. A disciple of Mrs. Hutchinson showed his disapprobation by sending him a pound of candles, with the message that the candles were sent because it was thought he needed more light. Mr. Cotton

mildly replied by begging that they would grant him an interest in their prayers.

In the arrangements of his household affairs, Mr. Cotton was precise. His custom was to have family worship twice a day; in the morning, the service consisted of prayer, reading the Scriptures, with comments thereon, and prayer again. In the evening, the service was more simple. He was exceedingly felicitous in explaining the sacred text. A gentleman of high standing, who came forty miles to see him while in England, declared, that his ordinary expositions in his family, were as valuable as other ministers' public preaching. He was twice married, and his wives were both distinguished for their devotional spirit. His first wife, who died before he came to America, was peculiarly eminent for piety. From the first, his acquaintance with her contributed to elevate his own mind to heavenly things; and he often mentioned that it was upon the day of their marriage, that he received his first satisfactory

assurance of acceptance with God, saying, "God made this a day of double marriage to me." He had three sons and three daughters, and lived to see two of his sons settled in the ministry.

In his profession, Mr. Cotton held the highest rank among the ministers of New England, the brightest star in the rising constellation of the western hemisphere. He was a great student, spending daily twelve hours in his study. He could converse in Hebrew, and write Latin with elegance. His sermons he prepared with great care, though he often spoke without premeditation. His style was plain, but earnest, enlightened, and adapted to every capacity. His stature was rather below middling, his countenance florid, his eye keen and expressive, his voice and whole mien striking and dignified. His gravity was such, that ungodly men felt the reproof of his presence. The tavern-keeper in Derby, England, his native place, used to say that he was not able to swear when

that man was under his roof. In doctrine he was a Calvinist, and he often said to his friends, he always liked to sweeten his mouth with a piece of Calvin before he went to sleep.

In the fall of 1652, he took a violent cold, while crossing the ferry to preach to the students at Cambridge, which brought on an inflammation of the lungs, attended with asthma. He had a presentiment of his approaching end, and after a day of private devotion, left his study for the last time, remarking to his wife, "I shall go into that room no more." While laying in expectation of death, he was visited by multitudes of every station in life. His worthy colleague, while conversing with him, expressed a hope that God would bless his aged servant in the closing up of his life. He replied, with a joyful look, "God has done it already, brother." Feeling his end had come, he desired to be left to himself, that he might fix his mind upon the great change that awaited him; and so lying in silence a few hours, he

closed his eyes, and yielded up his breath, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

His death spread a gloom over the whole country. He was buried in the Chapel burying-ground, by the side of Winthrop and Johnson, being followed to the grave by a most numerous concourse of people. His house stood on the site of the Swedenborgian Chapel, in Tremont street.

The first pastor, Rev. Mr. Wilson, survived his colleague fifteen years, and died at the advanced age of seventy-nine. He was the son of Dr. Wilson, a prebend of St. Paul, and was educated at Cambridge. He first entered the sacred ministry as pastor of a church in Sudbury, England, but was not long in his living before, he was convicted of non-conformity, and silenced. His attention was early turned to the colonization of America by the Puritans. In a dream he saw a little temple rising out of the ground, which by degrees increased to one of very high and large dimensions, and he inter-

preted it as predicting the prosperity of Christ's kingdom in the western hemisphere. He felt himself called by Providence to emigrate to New England. His wife, at first, was unwilling to accompany him, but after he had visited the country, and sent her an account of the prospects, and came back after her, she consented to share his destiny in the new world. Cotton Mather relates that Mr. Dod, a relation of Mrs. Wilson, sent her a present, not long after her arrival, consisting of a brass counter, a silver crown, and a gold jacobus, directing the messenger to give her first the brass counter, and if she did not receive it pleasantly, to withhold the rest; but if she did, to give her the silver crown, and next after that the gold jacobus, with the assurance that such would be the dispensations of God with her. And the event justified the riddle. Far different from his wife was the faith of Mr. Wilson. Under all the changes of his lot, he relied steadfastly and cheerfully on the Divine Provi-

dence. Returning one day from an excursion into the country, he was met by one, who told him that his house had taken fire and burnt down. "Blessed be God," exclaimed he, "He has burnt this house, because he intends to give me a better." His moral courage was equal to his faith. From the first he never shrunk from reproving sin, especially when committed in his presence. While employed as chaplain in the house of Lady Scudamore, he observed that the gentry who visited her house on Sunday, amused themselves at table by talking about the exploits of their hawks and hounds at hunting. He reproved them, and a gentleman thanked him for the correction, and for that time the conversation was changed; but the next Sunday the same discourse was resumed. Whereupon Mr. Wilson remarked, that "the hawks they talked about were the birds which picked up the seed of the word after the hearing of it." The husband of Lady Scudamore was offended at his free-

dom, and she hinted to him that an apology was necessary. He told her that so long as he was employed as a minister in her house, he should do his duty. His firmness prevailed, and similar conversation was afterwards avoided in his presence.

His style of preaching was neither brilliant nor learned, but it was judicious, sound, and animated by an affectionate zeal. It was calculated to make the hearer think of himself and his sins, and to lead him to Christ. In doctrine he was orthodox, according to the theology of the times. He had no taste for novelties in religion, and was slow to change any opinion or usage he had adopted. In his declining years, he lamented the errors that were spreading among the churches, and feared that the faith of the first pilgrims would finally vanish from the land.

Benevolence was the brightest jewel in his diadem of virtues. His heart was an overflowing fountain of kindly affections, and his hand

was ever ready to relieve the afflicted. His hospitality was unbounded. Mr. Wood, the witty cobbler, in imitation of his forte for writing anagrams, gave the following on his name, "I pray come in, you are heartily welcome." It is the property of love to beget love; and there was scarcely a person in the colony who did not cherish for him decided esteem. On an occasion of general muster of the military, a person remarked to him, good humoredly, "Sir, I will tell you a great thing; here is a mighty body of people, and there are not *seven* of them all but what love Mr. Wilson." "Sir," said Mr. Wilson, "I will tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty body of people, and there is not so much as *one* of them all but Mr. Wilson loves him."

It is not wonderful that such a man enjoyed communion with God, and often felt his soul overpowered with the glorious prospect of the future. His last sermon was preached at Roxbury, from one of the Psalms of David, at the

close of which he said, "Were these the last words I should ever speak, I would say, Hallelujah, hallelujah, praise ye the Lord." In his death the people mourned the loss of a faithful shepherd, who had identified himself with his flock in all their eventful fortunes.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CIVIL POLITY. ROGER WILLIAMS. PORTRAITURES
OF THE GOVERNOR AND DEPUTY GOVERNOR.

Boston was the seat of government for the colony of Massachusetts. The government as it was settled in a short time, was vested in a governor, deputy governor, board of assistants, and deputies from each town. At first they sat together, but afterwards formed two houses, one having a negative upon the doings of the other. No man was entitled to vote at an election who was not a member of the church. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were regarded as the basis of legislation. The government, therefore, like that which Moses established in Canaan, was a sort of exclusive religious Republic, in which every man who was willing to subscribe to the divine covenant, had an equal privilege. It was necessary, however,

that he should understand the Christian system as they did, and conform to the same ordinances. At first, this constitution was not oppressive, for almost every man was a member of the church; but it afterwards wrought evil in the colony. This exclusiveness, however, has been too severely censured, as if it admitted of no apology. Having fled to this wilderness to enjoy unmolested their religious faith and worship, the pilgrims were jealous of their privileges, and feared to open the door of civil freedom too wide, lest by the gradual emigration of a majority holding different views, they might again be oppressed. Such was their fear, that they would suffer no one to take up his residence among them without the consent of the magistrate. Every man was required to attend church regularly, and by express statute they prohibited every form of religion but their own. "The order of the churches and the commonwealth," writes Mr. Cotton with characteristic ardor, "is now so settled by common

consent, that it brings to mind the new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." But time soon demonstrated how much was yet wanting to make this system perfect. "While the state," says the eloquent historian of the United States, "was cementing, by the closest bonds, the energy of its faith with its form of government, there appeared in the meridian, one of those clear minds which sometimes bless the world by the power of seeing much truth in purest light, and reducing the just conclusion of their principles to a bright and consistent practice.

"In February of the first year of the colony, but a few months after the arrival of Winthrop, and before either Cotton or Hooker had embarked for New England, there arrived at Nantasket, (now called Hull,) after a stormy passage of sixty-six days, 'a young minister, godly and zealous, having many precious gifts.' It was Roger Williams. He was but little more than twenty years of age, but his mind

had already matured a doctrine which secures him an immortality of fame, as its application has given religious peace to the world. He was a puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution ; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding. In the capacious recesses of his mind, he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the just principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion ; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul. The doctrine contained in itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence. It would blot from the statute book the fallacy of non-conformity ; would quench the fires that persecution has so long kept burning ; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship ; would abolish tithes, and all forced contribution to the maintenance of reli-

gion ; would give a general protection to every form of religious faith, and would never suffer the authority of the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman, or the altar of the fire-worshipper ; against the Jewish synagogue, or the Romish cathedral."

This glowing description presents only the bright side of the picture ; if the lofty principle of unqualified toleration was in advance of his age, and therefore not appreciated, it was connected with other sentiments which appear absurd to us. Such as, it was wrong "for a magistrate to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for he would thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain ;" and "that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, or for a good man to join in family prayer with those he judged unregenerate ;" and "that after meals we should not return thanks ;" and that the patent of Charles I. was of no validity, forasmuch as he had no

right to cede territory belonging to the aborigines.

These and other extravagant doctrines held by him were urged in a rigid and uncharitable spirit. He required the church at Salem, of which he was pastor, to refuse communion with the Boston church, because they did not proclaim their repentance for their former connection with the English establishment; and when the Salem church did not consent to such an act of bigotry, he withdrew with a party, and held a separate meeting. It is said he refused to live with his wife, because she would not follow him in forsaking the church. His influence was great in Salem, and numbers of the military refused to march under the colors of England, because they had on them the cross, which he denounced as a popish sign!

These doctrines and movements disturbed the whole colony. They were in direct opposition to the system of government and the habits of society. In the end, a great fire was

kindled, and Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts. He fled, in the dead of winter, to the Indians, who received him hospitably, as a friend to their race. In the spring he sought and found an abiding place at the head of Narraganset bay. The place he called Providence, in token of the Divine protection granted him; and here he founded the capital of the state of Rhode Island. But his great principle could not be exiled, and it now forms the basis of our religious liberty. Before better views obtained in the progress of civilization, the Episcopalians and the Baptists were persecuted, the followers of Anne Hutchinson and herself were oppressed, and worst of all, the Quakers were hung in three instances, because they were obstinate, and when banished, would not leave the place.

The government of the affairs of the town was committed to ten selectmen, then called towns-men, of whom the first on record was Mr. Winthrop. A more interesting character

than Winthrop is scarcely to be found in American history. Some of my readers have often seen his portrait in the state house. He was tall and well formed, his visage long, a high forehead, with dark blue eyes, and dark hair, worn in the form of a wig. His countenance beamed benevolence and wisdom. Made a justice of the peace in his native town in England at the early age of eighteen, he grew up in the exercise and art of government. His prudence, patience, courage and energy made him the successful pilot of the ship of state in the unchartered waters into which she was launched. He was not a democrat. "The best part of a community," said he, "is always the least; and of this least part the wiser is always the less." He was liberal in his natural disposition, and it was with reluctance that he yielded to the reigning spirit of intolerance in religion. Having been applied to in his last illness to sign an order for the banishment of a minister, he refused, saying, he had done too

much of that already. In private life he was frugal and temperate, hospitable and exceedingly generous to the poor. One hard winter complaint was made to him that a person frequently stole wood from his pile. "Does he," said Mr. Winthrop; "send him to me, and I will take a course with him that will cure him of stealing." The man appeared, trembling under the terrors of the law. "Friend," said the governor, "it is a cold winter, and I doubt you are but poorly provided with wood. You are welcome to supply yourself at my pile until the winter is over."

His religion shone out through all his life, and gave a higher lustre to his character. He was zealous for truth and righteousness. Often would he bear witness to the minister in the congregation; and frequently he visited the neighboring towns to prophesy, as it was called, that is, discourse religiously. His character was admired, not only throughout New England, but in the mother country, and at the

court. Charles I. remarked of him, that it was a pity that such a worthy gentleman should be no better accommodated than with the hardships of America.

A wonderful control of his own passions was a proof of the grace of God in him, and associates him in the mind with that other great model of virtue which will forever adorn our country. On a certain occasion, one of the officers of the colony wrote him a "sharp letter," complaining of his official acts. He handed it back to the messenger, after he had read it, remarking, that he "was not willing to keep such a letter of provocation by him." Not long afterwards, while the colony was suffering from scarcity of food, the same gentleman sent to buy some of his cattle. The governor sent them to him, begging that he "would receive them as a token of his good will." The gentleman wrote back, "Sir, your overcoming of yourself, hath overcome me."

This admirable temper he carried in all his

public life. Cotton Mather says of him, that he had "studied that book, which, professing to teach politics, had but three leaves, and on each leaf but one word, and that word was MODERATION."

His end was peace. Worn with the toil of planting society in this wilderness, and with domestic affliction, in the loss of three wives and six children, at the age of sixty-two he felt a rapid decay of his faculties, and spoke of his approaching dissolution. His view of death was prophetic. A fever, after a month's confinement, sealed up his eyes in death. His body lies buried at the north end of the Chapel burying-ground. Such was the man who, above all others, might be called the founder and father of Boston.

Mr. Thomas Dudley, the first deputy governor, was a man of marked character. He was trained to the law in his youth, and had seen service as a captain of the army in the wars of the continent. He became a puritan

after his retirement from the army ; and when the project of the Massachusetts colony was determined upon, he was selected as a suitable person to conduct its fortunes. He was a man of sound sense, sterling integrity, and uncompromising faith.

He was rigid in his religious opinions, and went far beyond Winthrop in enforcing the sectarian laws of the state. He considered that the various opinions that were struggling to manifest themselves from time to time, tended to licentiousness ; and he was desirous that it should be inscribed on his grave-stone, that he was no friend to unlimited toleration, which he called *libertinism*. In his pocket, after his death, were found the following lines :

“ Dim eye, deaf ear, cold stomach, shew
My dissolution is in view ;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die.
My shuttle 's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my day is done ;
My span is measured, tale is told,

My flower is faded and grown old ;
My dream is vanished, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead.
Farewell dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends,
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we live with joy again.
Let men of God in court and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, I died no libertine."

He was almost always elected deputy when Winthrop was chosen governor; and several times he was elected governor. He had his residence first at Cambridge, which he was chiefly instrumental in founding, and which he wished to make the seat of government. For a short time he lived in Newburyport, but finally fixed his abode in Roxbury, where he died, July 31, 1653.

CHAPTER VIII.

FREE SCHOOLS. HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

SCARCELY had the pilgrims erected their houses in this new world, before they turned their attention to providing means for the education of the rising generation, not only in the elements of learning, but in the higher branches.

The distinguished honor of first establishing free schools belongs to Boston. The earliest notice of the subject is in the town records, under date of April 13, 1635. "Agreed upon, that our brother Philemon Purmont shall be entreated to become school-master, for the teaching and nurturing children with us." The precise plan, on which the schools were founded, is not known, but it appears that they were at first supported by voluntary subscriptions. The schools were not only for the chil-

dren of the colonists, but the Indian children were also allowed to enjoy the privilege. Our fathers were not enthusiasts, looking for the maintenance of civil or religious liberty without the aid of general education. They knew that as liberty without religion degenerates into licentiousness, so religion without learning will turn into fanaticism. Their aim, therefore, was, to enlighten the whole community. The leading men of the state were not content with having their own children provided for; they were willing to pay also for the education of the poor. The same liberal sentiments prevailed among the poorer classes, for when the government in 1636, the next year after the free school was commenced in Boston, appropriated four hundred pounds for the endowment of a college, they brought forward their humble offerings with ardor. One gave a sheep, another some cotton cloth, another a silver flagon, another a fruit-dish, a silver topped jug, a salt-cellar; some subscribed five shillings, some a

pound, in money, and so upwards to larger sums. The site chosen for the college was in the town of Newton, three miles from the ferry to Boston. Two years afterwards the name of the town was altered to Cambridge. At the same time the college was called Harvard college, in honor of Rev. John Harvard, who died that year at Charlestown, and left a legacy to the institution of between seven and eight hundred pounds, which was a great part of his estate, and a valuable library of two hundred and sixty volumes. Of this man but little more is known than this good deed; but this has immortalized his name. He came to Charlestown in a consumption, in the hope that a change of climate might benefit his health; but he rapidly sunk under his disorder, and before a year had expired, he was laid at rest. He was educated at Cambridge, England, and the character of the books in his library, as well as the noble act which closed his life, indicates an elevated mind. One hundred and

ninety years after his death, September 26, 1828, a granite monument was erected to his memory on the top of burying hill in Charlestown.

The college was unfortunate in its first president, Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, who was sufficiently well educated, but destitute of moral qualification for such an office. He possessed a violent temper, and was displaced for beating his usher with a cudgel. He was subsequently turned out of the church also. He was succeeded by Mr. Henry Dunstan, a man of another stamp, and of distinguished worth.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ABORIGINES. MISSIONARY LABORS AMONG THEM.
THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.

To complete the picture of the settlement of Boston by the pilgrims, it is necessary to glance at their intercourse with the natives.

As if Providence designed to clear the way for the occupancy of the land by white men, seven or eight years before the Mayflower arrived at Plymouth, a terrible epidemic wrought destruction among the Indians all along the coast. Scarcely one in ten escaped, and the land was made "an Indian Golgotha." The Massachusetts tribe, which before could muster in an emergency not less than three thousand warriors, had dwindled down in comparison to a handful. How much this diminished the perils of the settlement, may be inferred from the fate of a French ship, as mentioned by

Cotton Mather. It was commanded by a Capt. Finch, who visited the country for purposes of trade. The savages came on board in a friendly guise, and apparently without armor; but they had knives concealed under their clothes, and watching their opportunity, suddenly they sprang upon the crew, murdered them all, and burnt the ship.

The disease which preyed upon the Indians was a sort of yellow fever. "The bodies," said an old Indian, "were exceedingly yellow, (describing it by a garment he showed,) both before and after they died." It may here be remarked that the consumption, now so fatal to persons of every age, was a disease common to the native tribes on this coast. It seems to be an attendant upon our climate. The young Indian felt it coming upon him, retired from the chase, and lay down in his quiet wigwam, and, in a few months, alternating between hope and fear, closed his eyes peacefully in death.

In their general character and customs, the

Indians of these parts were not dissimilar to the existing North American aborigines. They were divided into small tribes, under the government of sachems. "Their skins," says one whose office brought him to a familiar acquaintance with the Massachusetts, "are of tawny color; the proportion of their limbs well formed; their hair is black and harsh, not curling; their eyes black and dull. They take many wives, one of them being principal in their esteem and affection. They also put away their wives, and their wives leave their husbands upon ground of displeasure. If any wrong be committed, the whole tribe consider themselves bound to take revenge. Their houses or wigwams are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent and fastened together with bark of trees, oval or arbor-shaped at the top. Their clothing is chiefly made of the skins of wild beasts, sometimes mantles of the feathers of birds quilted artificially. The females decorate themselves with bracelets, necklaces, and beads of black

and white wampum. They are addicted to gaming, and also delight much in dancing and feasting. If any stranger come to their house, they give him the best lodging and diet they have. They acknowledge one Supreme doer of good, and another of mischief; the latter they dread and fear, more than they love and honor the chief good, which is God."

It is evident that the colonists regarded themselves somewhat in the character of missionaries to the natives. The device upon the seal of the Charter was an Indian, erect and naked, holding an arrow in his right hand, and in his left a bow, with these words in a scroll from his mouth, "*Come over and help us.*" Their treatment of the Indians in the vicinity was, almost without exception, just, humane, and worthy of a Christian people. Another fearful epidemic, ever following in the wake of European emigration, the small pox, got among the tribes about three years after the colony arrived, and spread desolation throughout their

wigwams. The ministers, disregarding the perils attending their duty, visited them in their afflictions, and labored assiduously to inculcate among them the blessed hopes of the gospel.

The chief sachem of this region was Wono-haquaham, Sagamore John, as he was called by the settlers. His residence was on the north-east side of the harbor at Winnisimmet, (now Chelsea.) He conceived a strong liking for the English strangers, and reciprocated with them many acts of kindness. He fell a victim to the raging disorder. Mr. Cotton has given an account of his last days, which reveals both the dark superstitions of these poor heathen, and the evangelical ardor of the colonists.

“At our first coming, brother Sagamore John was the chiefest Sachem in these parts. His falling sick, our Pastor, Mr. Wilson, hearing of it, (and being of some acquaintance with him,) went to visit him, taking with him some

of the Deacons of our Church, and withall a little Mithridate and strong water. When he came to his lodging, (which they call wigwam,) hearing a noyse within, he looked over the door to discerne what it meant, and saw many Indians gathered together, and some Powows amongst them, who are their Priests, Physicians and Witches. They by course spake earnestly to the sick Sagamore and to his disease, (in a way of charming of it and him,) and one to another in a kind of Antiphonies. When they had done, all kept silence, our Pastor went in with the Deacon, and found the man farre spent, with his eyes set in his head, his speech leaving him, his mother (old squaw sachem) sitting weeping at his bed head. Well, (saith our Pastour,) our God save Sagamore John; Powow cram (that is kill) Sagamore John; and thereupon hee fell to prayer with his Deacon; and after prayer, forced into the sick man's mouth with a spoon a little Mithridate dissolved in the strong water; soon after,

the Sagamore looked up, and three days after went abroad on hunting. This providence so farre prevailed with the Sagamore, that he promised to look after the Englishman's God, to heare their sermons, to weare English apparell, &c. But his neighbour Indians, Sagamores and Powows, hearing of this, threatened to cram him, (that is, to kill him,) if he did so degenerate from his country's Gods and Religion; he therefore fell off, and took up his Indian course of life again. Whatsoever facility may seeme to offer itself of the conversion of the Indians, it is not so easie a matter for them to hold out, no not in a semblance of profession of the true Religion. Afterwards God struck John Sagamore againe, (and as I remember, with the small pox :) but then when they desired like succor from our Pastour as before, he told them now the Lord was angry with Sagamore John, and it was doubtful he would not so easily be intreated."

• Another writer speaks thus of his last mo-

ments, for he died of this disease:—"Being struck with death, he began fearfully to reproach himself that he had not lived with the English and known their God. 'But now,' he added, 'I must die. The God of the English is much angry with me, and will destroy me. Ah! I was afraid of the scoffs of those wicked Indians. But my child shall live with the English, to know their God, when I am dead. I'll give him to Mr. Wilson, he much good man, and much love me.' "

But the brightest example of missionary zeal which the whole history of the settlement of America exhibits, was that of Eliot, justly distinguished by the title given him in his lifetime, "the Apostle of the Indians." This morning star graced the dawn of civilization in Boston and vicinity. The Rev. John Eliot was born in the county of Essex, in England, and educated in the University of Cambridge. He arrived at Boston the year after the settlement commenced. In the absence of the pas-

tor, who was gone to England, he supplied the pulpit for several months, and gave so much satisfaction by his enlightened and pious labors, that he was earnestly invited by the whole church to become a colleague of Mr. Wilson in the pastoral office. He was, however, under an engagement to serve a company, who were expected soon to leave England to make a settlement in the neighborhood of Shawmut. When they arrived, they selected Roxbury as their place of residence, and Mr. Eliot was installed as their pastor, and remained in that relation until his death. He had not been long in the land before his heart yearned over the degraded and forlorn condition of the aborigines. He took an old Indian into his family, and learnt of him the Indian language. He then began to preach among them. His first sermon in the Indian language was delivered at Nonantum, now Newton, December 8, 1646. His text was Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones. After sermon he gave opportunity

for the Indians to ask any questions. One inquired whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language; another asked how there could be an image of God, seeing it was forbidden in the commandments; a third question was, how the world became full of people, if they were all drowned. At other times he was asked, if God was stronger than the Devil, why he did not kill the Devil? and how the English came to know so much more about God than the Indians, seeing they had one father? and how it came to pass that the sea water was salt, and the river water fresh? After his second sermon, one old Indian asked him, with tears in his eyes, whether it was not too late for him to be saved. After laboring among them for a season, he discovered that there was little prospect of doing permanent good, unless they could be induced to forsake their desultory, savage habits, and become civilized. Through his influence, the converted Indians and their friends were persuaded to

form towns after the fashion of the colonists. The first Indian town was built at Natick, on Charles River, in 1651. A house of worship was erected, and a form of government adopted based on the general model which Jethro recommended to Moses for the Israelites in the wilderness, as related in Exodus xviii. He established a school, and, besides the rudiments, he taught them logic and natural philosophy. Every fortnight he was on his missionary tours, which extended through all the tribes in the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, as far as Cape Cod and Nantucket. He was resisted by the sachems and powows, who often threatened his life. But he was afraid of nothing in the discharge of his duty. He said to them, "I am about the work of the great God, and my Lord is with me; so that I neither fear you nor all the sachems in the country. I will go on; do you touch me if you dare."

He encountered all kinds of hardships with cheerfulness. "I have not been dry," said he,

"night nor day, from the third to the sixth day of the week, but so travelled; and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so proceed. But God's blessing is my help. I have considered the word of Christ, 1 Tim. ii. 3, 'Endure hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.' "

In fifteen years after he preached the first sermon, he printed, in the Indian language, his translation of the New Testament, and a few years after the whole Bible. His success was as extraordinary as his exertions. He lived to see twenty-four native preachers declaring to thousands of their converted countrymen the "unsearchable riches of Christ." During the wars of Philip, which resulted in the extermination of whole tribes, he defended the towns of praying Indians from violence, when the fury of the exasperated colonists would have whelmed them in indiscriminate destruction. In this angelic labor he incurred the hatred of some. Being upset in a boat, and well nigh

drowned, a man who hated him for his friendship to the Indians, expressed his regret that the missionary had not lost his life when he came so near it. In a short time after, this same man was upset in a boat and drowned.

Through all his labors and perils, he was preserved by a merciful Providence, and after living to an extreme old age, he died in the bosom of his family, at Roxbury, May 20, 1690.

Mr. Eliot's preaching was plain, free from the quaint expressions and theological quibbles which marked the age, earnest and instructive. He breathed a continual spirit of prayer. It was his constant habit to lift up his heart in prayer for every person he met. His benevolence was unbounded, and he often gave to the poor what was needed by his own family. It is related, that the treasurer of the parish, knowing his extreme generosity, on one occasion when he paid him his monthly salary, tied it up in a handkerchief in several hard knots. Eliot called, on his way home, to see a poor

family in distress, and wishing to relieve their wants, he tried to get at his money, but he could not untie the knots. So after some time trying, impatient of the perplexity, he gave handkerchief and all to the mother of the family, saying, "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you."

His temperance was remarkable. One plain dish was all that he allowed himself at home; and his habitual drink was water. Of wine he said, "it is a noble and generous liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it; but, as I remember, water was made before it." He was decidedly opposed to the custom of wearing wigs, and protested against the practice of "drinking tobacco," as smoking was called. His humility was extreme, for he literally wore, in imitation of John the Baptist, "a leathern girdle about his loins."

The sun has its spots, and the most perfect of human kind are not without their faults. Eliot had as few, perhaps, as any other man.

He finished his course amidst the affections and praises of his generation ; and his last words were, " welcome joy."

The author of the Wonder Working Providence has employed his muse in the following tribute to his memory, which, though it has but little of poetry in it except the rhyme, is interesting as showing the light in which Eliot was regarded by his contemporaries :

" Great is thy worke in wilderness, oh man,
Young Eliot, neere twenty yeares thou hast,
In western world, with mickle toil, thy span
Spent well neere out, and now thy gray hairs graced
Are by thy Landlord Christ, who makes use of thee
To feed his flock, and heathen people teach,
In their own language, God and Christ to see
A Saviour, their blind hearts could not reach,
Poor naked children, come to learn God's mind
Before thy face, with reverend regard.
Blesse God for thee may these poor heathen blind,
That from thy mouth Christ's gospel sweet have heard.
Eliot, thy name is through the wild woods spread,
In Indians' mouths frequent 's thy fame—for why !
In sundry shapes the devil made them dread,
And now the Lord makes them their wigwams fly.

**Rejoice in this, nay, rather joy that thou,
Amongst Christ's soldiers hast thy name sure set,
Although small gain on earth accrew to you,
Yet Christ to crowne will thee to Heaven soone fet."**

Before we leave the Indians, we may mention a neighboring sachem, with whom the settlers had frequent and friendly intercourse. His residence was at Dorchester, near Neponset River, and his name among his tribe was Chickatabot. A few months after the arrival of the colony, he made a visit to Governor Winthrop at Shawmut, accompanied by a number of the native men and women, bringing with them a present of a bushel of Indian corn. He was invited to dine with the governor, and he accepted the invitation for himself and two of his attendants, one squaw, and one sannop; the rest he sent home, though it rained hard, and the governor urged their remaining. Being dressed in English fashion, they sat down in English style at the table, and behaved, the governor remarks, "as soberly as any Englishman."

In a few weeks the sagamore made Boston another visit, and wished to purchase of the governor a suit of clothes. Mr. Winthrop told him that "English sagamores did not use to truck," but calling his tailor, he gave orders to make the sachem a complete suit. In return, Chickatabot presented the governor with two large skins of coat-beaver. A few days afterwards he returned to get his clothes; and, being rigged out from head to foot like an Englishman, he sat down to dinner at the governor's house with no little self-complacency. At the table he declined eating until after the governor had given thanks; and after meat he desired him to do the same. He took leave of the governor in high spirits, and no doubt made a grand display of his new dress among his own people at Neponset.

In this friendly manner did the fathers of Boston associate with the aborigines of these parts; nor was there once a drop of Indian blood shed in their streets, nor a wigwam burnt

within sight of the city. The storm of Indian war raged at a distance, and rolled away without involving the peaceful tribes around Shawmut. Once during the first year of the settlement, there was an alarm that the Indians of the interior were coming down upon them, but it proved a false alarm, and they experienced nothing of the dreadful scenes which marked the early history of so many of the settlements in our country.

CHAPTER X.

PICTURE OF THE SETTLEMENT AT SHAWMUT. VIEW FROM BEACON HILL.

THE settlement at Shawmut is now fairly established. Let us take a survey of it. Here we are favored with looking first through the eyes of an actual visitant of the place, Mr. Wood, who has left a graphic and picturesque account of it, as he saw it in 1633. "The harbor," he writes, "is made by a great company of islands, whose high cliffs shoulder out the boisterous seas; yet may easily deceive any unskilful pilot; presenting many fair openings and broad sounds, which afford too shallow water for ships, though navigable for boats and pinnaces. It is a safe and pleasant harbor within, having but one common and safe entrance, and that not very broad; there scarce being room for three ships to come in board to

board at a time ; but being once in, there is room for the anchorage of a fleet.

“ The situation of Boston is very pleasant, being a peninsula, hemmed in on the south side by the bay of Roxbury, and on the north side with Charles River, the marshes on the back side being not a quarter of a mile over ; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves. The greatest wants are wood and meadow land ; being constrained to fetch their building timber and fire-wood from the islands in boats, and their hay in loyers. It being a neck, and bare of wood, they are not troubled with these great annoyances, wolves, rattlesnakes and musquitoes.

“ This neck of land is not above four miles in compass, in form almost square, having on the south side, at one corner, a great broad hill, (now called Fort Hill,) whereon is planted a fort, which can command any ship, as she sails into the harbor. On the north side is another hill, equal in highness, whereon stands a wind-

mill (Copp's Hill.) To the north-west is a high mountain, with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called Tramount. From the top of this mountain a man may overlook all the islands which lie within the bay, and descry such ships as are on the sea-coast. This town, although it be neither the greatest or the richest, yet is the most noted and frequented, being the centre of the plantations, where the monthly courts are held. Here, likewise, dwells the governor. This place hath very good land, affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens, having likewise sweet and pleasant springs. The inhabitants of this place, for their enlargement, have taken to themselves farm-houses in a place called Muddy River, (Brookline,) two miles from the town, where there is good ground, large timber, and store of marsh land and meadow. In this place they keep their swine and other cattle in summer, whilst the corn is in the ground at Boston, and bring them to town in winter."

Now let us ascend to the top of that highest hill, and look down upon the town and the surrounding country. Two years after, by the way, this highest point was called Sentry hill, because a beacon was set up there, to be fired, when occasion served, by men stationed there for that purpose. It was 138 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the level of the sea, between forty and fifty feet lower than the state house. What a delightful prospect of the bay, the surrounding country, and the town beneath! The islands except one appear to be uninhabited; not a wigwam is left. On that island, now called East Boston, I see one cottage, and there on an eminence four cannon planted. Mr. Samuel Maverick lives there, and he planted those cannon to defend himself from the Indians. He has the distinction of being the first slave-holder, having an African slave in his house. Just across the cove on the west is a small nook of houses in a place then called Winnisimmet, and now Chelsea. If you look sharp you can see the smoke

rising from the wigwams of Sagamore John and his tribe. On the left, across the Mystic, you see Charlestown. There is a considerable number of small houses, and one large house; and there goes over a regular ferry-boat from Boston. Farther up Charles River is a very neat looking place, with some handsome houses and well contrived streets; it was called Newton, now Cambridge. This was at first pitched upon by the court as the capital, and Governor Winthrop put up the frame of a house, but took it down soon after and removed it to Boston, being persuaded that the peninsula was much better situated both for commerce and defence. Some settlements begin to appear half a mile west, at a place called Watertown. South-west two miles, is rather a rich looking settlement called Roxbury, where it is very rocky, especially on the western side. A mile below is Dorchester, one of the largest plantations in Massachusetts. Three miles below is Mount Wolaston, (Braintree,) and below that is Wey-

mouth, at both which places there are considerable improvements.

And now let us look down upon Boston. There are twenty or thirty good looking farm-houses here, and a large number of booths, and some tents, scattered all about, but the greatest number are collected about this hill, on the harbor side. I see but one church, down in State street, nearly opposite to the present site of the Merchants Bank. The roof is thatched, and its walls are of mud. It was begun on the 26th day of May, two years after the settlement was made. The minister lives in the house opposite, in a spot to which he has left his name, Wilson's lane. State street is a highway, and runs down to the water, but I see no wharves yet. The tide flows up below the church as far as Congress street, and there seems to be a yard for building ships. There is Governor Winthrop's dwelling, a substantial house of wood, two stories high

There is quite a number of graves on Mr

Johnson's lot, where he lies buried. There is a shop at the north corner of State street, belonging to Mr. Cogan. The market is not established by the court till next year, opposite the post office. There are not many houses at the north end. The water flows up as far as Ann street. A cove sets in up to what was afterwards called Brattle street, and covers Dock square; there is another vast cove on the west side, which was afterwards called the Mill-pond, when a causeway was built from Leverett street to Prince street. The tide washes up as far as Hawkins street and Pitts street, on this side, and on the other as far as Baldwin place, where the first Baptist church was erected. All along below Blossom street there is a marsh to the river side. South of Beacon Hill there is a large field fenced in, with a pond in the middle, and cattle and horses feeding; at the bottom of it is a hill called Fox hill. There are but few dwellings beyond this towards the neck. There is quite a pond where Chauncey place

is, and below that a marsh or swamp. I see the people building houses and planting gardens on all sides ; a number of ships are coming into the harbor, and some vessels are building in several places along the shore.

The writer quoted at the beginning of this chapter has described the peninsula as denuded of wood, but from the following poetic effusion upon the sylvan wealth, with which the surrounding country abounded, it appears that the scene we have contemplated was sufficiently shaded by groves of various kinds of trees :

“Trees both on hills and plains in plenty be,
The long-lived oak and mournful cypress tree,
Sky-towering pines and chesnuts coated rough,
The rosin-dropping fir, for masts in use
The boatmen seek ; for oars, the light and neat grown
spruce.

The brittle ash, the ever trembling asp,
The broad-spread elm whose concave harbors wasps,
The water-springing alder, good for nought,
Small elders by the Indian fletchers sought.
The knotty maple, pallid birch, hawthorn,
The horn bound tree that to be cloven scorns,

Which from the tender vine oft takes his spouse,
That twines embracing arms about his boughs.
Within the Indian orchard, fruits be some,
The ruddy cherry and the jetty plum.
Snake murdering hazel, with sweet saxaphage,
Whose spurns, in beer, allays hot fever's rage,
The dear shumac, with other trees there be,
That are both good to use and rare to see."

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.

SUCH was Boston a little more than two hundred years ago. Behold, what a change! The peninsula Shawmut upholds a stately and magnificent city, crowned with a state-house upon the loftiest of the three mountains, around which the city seems to rise in the form of an inverted amphitheatre, adorned with churches, hospitals, institutions of learning, and monuments of patriotism. The heights round about the city, the large island opposite, the banks of the three rivers, which pour their confluent waters into the harbor, and all the prominent points along the surrounding shores, are studded with towns, villages and hamlets. A forest of masts rises up among the numerous wharves, and the harbor is all astir with

steamboats and packets, and craft of every size and every flag, coming and going, overshadowed here and there by the lofty yards of a man-of-war anchored in the channel. Railroads branch from the city in all directions, connecting it with the British dominions, the southern states, and the western lakes. Yonder goes a gigantic steamer, one of the floating bridges which bind together the old and new worlds. The population constantly increasing amounts to nearly a hundred thousand; already there is not sufficient room for them in the peninsula. Establishing their stores and ware-houses there, they are spreading their dwellings over all the circumjacent shores. The city government is now extended to Dorchester Heights and Noddle's Island, which are called South and East Boston. Probably the time is coming when the city will include in its ample range all the places marked by the scattered settlements of the Winthrop colony. The hun-

dred islands will be united by bridges or ferries, and the western Venice will sit amidst the waters, unrivalled in beauty, and unequalled in influence.

It was thought an untoward Providence, which diverted the course of the Mayflower, and led the pilgrim settlers to the rocky shores of New England. But posterity will see, that the All-wise Disposer of events designed for them the best portion of the whole land. An immense extent of coast, indented with a great number of harbors, easy of access, commodious and safe, gives us commerce with every part of the globe. The country delightfully diversified with hills and valleys and spreading plains, intersected with streams and rivers, while it yields a competency to the industry of the agriculturalist, opens unequalled facilities for manufactories. Thus every variety of native genius is developed and employed. The climate, though severely cold at times, is grad-

ually becoming milder, and, if cultivation produces the same effect here as in the other continent, is destined to be as pleasant as that of the vine-clad regions of southern Europe in the same latitude,—for Gaul and Germany were as cold as New England when the legions of Rome began to thread their forests.

Thus we see God has favored us in our natural position and resources ; and when we associate with these our civil and social privileges, we may apply to our state and prospects, with increased emphasis, the song of Asaph, (Ps. lxxx.,) which our fathers more than a century ago loved to apply in the same way :

“Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt ;
Thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it ;
Thou preparedst room before it,
And didst cause it to take deep root,
And it filled the land.
The hills were covered with the shadow of it,
And the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars.
She sent out her boughs unto the sea,
And her branches unto the river.”

Let it be forever impressed upon the minds of all that shall dwell in this land, that it was the Religion of our fathers that gave us this goodly heritage. Nor can we hope to enjoy it in peace, any longer than that religion is allowed the ascendancy in all things.

APPENDIX.

The following is the first page or two of the Records of the town of Boston, which, as such, possesses an antiquarian interest. From it we learn who were the selectmen at the time,

1684.
Month 7th.
daye 1.
Jo. Winthrop
Wm Coddington
Capt. Underhill
Tho. Oliver
Tho. Leveritt
Giles Firmin
Jo. Coggeshall
Wm. Pierce
Robt. Hardinge
Wm. Brenton

Whereas it hath been founde that much damage hath already happened by laying of Stones and Logges near the bridge and landing place, whereby diverse boats have been much bruised, for prevention of such harmes for time to come, it is ordered that whosoever shall unlade any stones, timber or logges where the same may not be plainly seen at high water, shall set up a pole or beacon to give notice thereof, upon paine that whosoever shall faile so to doe shall make full recompence for all such damage as shall happen to any boats or other vessels, by occasion of such stones, timber or logges, the same to be recovered by way of action at the Court; and this order to be in force from this day forward—being only a declaration of the common lawe herein.

Water Bayliffes

It is also ordered that no person shall leave any fish or garbage near the said bridge or common landing place between the creeks, whereby any annoyance may come to the people that passe that way, upon paine to forfeit for every such offence five shillings, the same to be levied by distresse of the goodes of the offender—And this order to be of force from the fourth day of this month and so forever.

And for the better execution of these orders, the aforementioned Giles Firmin is appointed overseer of the saide landing place, to give notice to such strangers and others as come hither with boats, to take knowledge of all such offences committed, and to levye the penalties which shall be forfeited.

And if after notice shall be given by the said overseer, to any person that shall have any timber, logges or stones, being without such pole or beacon, he shall take away the same, or set up such pole or beacon, the said offender shall, (after making recompence to the person damaged, if any damage happen,) forfeit to the towne for every day the same offence shall continue, five shillings, to be levied by distress.

At a general meeting, upon publique notice given, the fifth day of last weeke, it was ordered and agreed as follows :

Month 8th.
daye 6th.

Imprimis. Richard Bellingham, Esquire, and J. Cogan, Merchant, were chosen in the place of Giles Firmin, deceased, and Robt. Hardinge, now in Virginia, to make up the number to manage the affairs of the towne.

Item. Jo. Coggeshall Wm. Colburn, Saml. Cole, Wm. Brenton and Thos. Grubb, together with Wm. Cheesborough, the constable, are deputed to make a rate for the levying of 40£ assessed upon the towne, as the first payment of a greater sune by order of the Genl. Court.

John Cogan, Tho. Matson, Nicholys Willys are chosen to serve as Jurors at the Court of Assistants.

The 10th daye
of the 9th month.
November, 1634.

Att a general meeting upon publique notice given the day before, it was ordered and agreed upon, viz.:

Hogg Island to
be allotted.

Imprimis. That Hogg Island shall be lotted out unto the inhabitants and freemen of this town, according to the number of names in every family, by John Copall, Wm. Brenton and John Lamford, and that none shall fell any wood there untill the same shall be lotted out.

Item. That Edmund Quinsey, Samuel Wilbore, Wm. Roston, Edmund Hutchinson, the elder, and Wm. Cheesborough, the constable, shall make and assess all these

10th month.
daye 8th.
Mr. Willson.

Mount
Wollaston.

rates, viz., a rate for 30£ to Mr. Blackstone, a rate for cowes keeping, a rate for the goates keeping, and other charges in work thereabout, and for loste income and water for the young cattle keeping at Muddy River.

Att a general meeting upon publique notice—

Imprimis. It was ordered that Mr. Willson, the pastor, (in lieu of his land granted him at the North river by Mystick, which he shall passe over to the towne of Boston,) shall have as much land at Mount Wollaston at his election and after, so much as shall be his portion of other lands belonging to this towne, to be layed him out so near his other lands at Mount Wollaston as may be for his conveniency.

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